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What Is the Future of Japanese-American Relations?

Moderator, GUNNAR BACK

S p e a k e r s

KENNETH YOUNG

FRANK GIBNEY

HAROLD LAVINE

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COMING

—June 2, 1953—

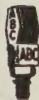
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THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

KENNETH TODD YOUNG, JR.—Director, Office of Northeast Asian Affairs, Department of State.

Born in Toronto, Canada, of American parents on June 22, 1916, Mr. Young attended Middlesex School, Harvard University, Lingnan University, China, and the Sorbonne, Paris.

From 1940-42, he was a teaching fellow at Harvard University, then spent a year as research assistant for the National Resources Planning Board. He was appointed an economist on the War Production Board staff from 1942-43.

During World War II, Mr. Young also served with the United States Army Air Forces, with overseas service from 1943-46.

He was appointed Assistant Political Intelligence Officer in the Department of State in 1946, was on the staff of the Secretary of Defense as Far Eastern specialist from 1949-52 and has served since March 1952 as Director of the Office of Northeast Asian Affairs, Department of State, which office is responsible for United States political and economic relations with Korea and Japan.

FRANK GIBNEY—Author of *Five Gentlemen of Japan*; former chief of Tokyo Bureau, *Time* magazine.

Frank Gibney was born in Scranton, Pa., in 1924, and moved to New York City shortly thereafter. He attended Yale for a year (receiving a degree in Greek three years later by "long distance"), then in 1942 enrolled in the Navy Language School at Boulder, Colo. Ordered to active duty, he spent the war shuttling between Pearl Harbor and remote spots in the Pacific, interrogating prisoners. He also "was in on" the battles of Peliliu and Okinawa, and after the war was sent to Japan to join the Occupation. In 1946 he left the Navy.

Mr. Gibney then turned to journalism, worked for a time for UP, then for *Time* in its London and Paris bureaus. In 1949 *Time* sent him to Japan and eventually he took over the bureau. By jeep, train and inland steamer, he covered most of Japan and the story of the Japanese people under the Occupation. Meantime he found time to travel through other areas of East Asia . . . the Philippines, Borneo, Singapore, Indo-

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What Is the Future of Japanese-American Relations?

Moderator Back:

Back in New York City we are, the home base of Town Meeting, and I hope that you will all permit us just a moment of pride before we begin tonight's discussion. This broadcast marks the eighteenth anniversary of Town Meeting of the Air—eighteen continuous years of Town Meeting broadcasts heard each week across this land of ours. Tonight I think we are stopping at a milestone that belongs in a prominent place in the history of radio. I want to put it there not as a moderator tonight but as one who has listened to Town Meeting of the Air so many times throughout the years and knows its contribution to better living and better knowledge of the passing times, and knows that to be a very rich contribution.

So on into the 19th year of Town Meeting. Our subject tonight: "What is the Future of Japanese-American Relations?" Across the far Pacific the 85,000,000 Japanese people, crowded on their islands, are called the last toe hold of the West in Asia, a potential bulwark of democracy in the shadow of the great communist land mass of the Asian continent. The conquered Japanese recovered their own government a year ago. Their homeland has been our great base for the Korean War. Their factories work night and day for us. But how are the Japanese doing? What are they thinking? Did we really leave them as a democracy? Where do their allegiances now lie? How much of a bulwark of democracy are they? As the cold war goes from crisis to crisis, it is time that we tried for the answers to these

questions, and tonight on Town Meeting those answers will come from three speakers who, because of background and present interest in Japan, ought to give us a rather full picture of the story of Japan and a full answer to these questions. There is first, Kenneth T. Young of the State Department, Director of the Office of Northeast Asian Affairs. Then we will hear from Frank Gibney, the author of the new book, *Five Gentlemen of Japan*, and former chief of the Tokyo Bureau of *Time* magazine and finally, Harold Lavine, associate editor of *Newsweek* magazine.

Mr. Young, a student at Harvard, who has studied in China and in Paris, was a teacher at Harvard before he entered government service and served in the Air Corps during the war. He has been a State Department Far Eastern Affairs expert almost since the war ended. And now to the subject: "What Is the Future of Japanese-American Relations?" Here is Kenneth D. Young.

Mr. Young:

Well, Mr. Back, I believe that relations between the United States and Japan will remain friendly, close, and firm. Our objectives and interests are the same in Asia and in the world. These are: support for the United Nations, co-operation with all freedom loving peoples, a search for lasting peace and security, protection of individual rights, and promotion of economic welfare and prosperity. During this first year of Japan's sovereignty and independence, our relations have really gotten off to a good start. There are some

difficulties, but I believe we will push ahead to meet the following four major problems.

First, Japan faces a difficult economic future. With a large and growing population, Japan cannot live as a prosperous free nation without a strong economy and an expanding trade. Japan needs to make sure that her goods are competitive and that her economy is soundly based, but, to a large extent, the problem lies outside Japan in markets and in sources of supply. This is particularly true because Japan is doing her part now in helping make effective the United Nations embargo on communist China. Our government and our business leaders recognize the economic problems facing Japan and the need to do what we can to help.

Second, Japan kept out by the Soviet Union, wishes to become a member of the United Nations with full and equal status. The United States government and people fully support Japan's desire for that membership. Japan has a lot to contribute to the free world. The United States welcomes the gradual full return to friendly and mutual political and economic relations between Japan and other countries, particularly in Asia. Thirdly, the frank, friendly, and practical relations that now exist between our two governments must continue in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and political freedom.

Japan's elections in 1952 and 1953 show that the majority of the Japanese people prefer moderate, middle-of-the-road political leaders who wish to co-operate with the United States and the free world. This co-operation is a free association of two equal states. Japan's point of view and Japan's interests are well represent-

ed by the Japanese and are fully respected by us. Finally, Japan is the prime communist target in the Far East. Attractive words have not diminished that threat. The islands north of Japan under Soviet control are only a few miles away. I am sure the Japanese will jealously guard their sovereignty and their independence.

The United States is helping them to do so now under the United States-Japan Security treaty, I would like to emphasize, though, that the fundamental decisions on Japan's self-defense are for the Japanese to make themselves. Now these are not easy problems, but I believe that in both countries there is the intelligence and the understanding and the will to work them out if we constantly work at it. We Americans are deeply affecting the lives, the daily lives, of the Japanese people in ways which we here at home in the United States can scarcely realize. Therefore it is essential that both peoples keep up their friendship for each other and, Mr. Back, I think they will. (*Applause*)

Mr. Back: Thank you very much, Mr. Young of the State Department. Comes now the turn of Harold Lavine, one of the associate editors of *Newsweek*, a former newspaperman, a former army combat correspondent and tank commander who has traveled extensively in all parts of the world and of course in the Far East. Mr. Lavine, what is your forecast on the future of Japanese-American relationships?

Mr. Lavine:

Well, I hope Mr. Young's optimism is justified, but I am not quite as optimistic as he because I think he glosses over the very serious economic problems which face Japan, problems which have been

obscured for the moment by the Korean War. Japan is a nation of 85,000,000 people who are crowded together on a cluster of islands, volcanic islands. Only about a fifth of their land can be cultivated. They have almost no natural resources except their own industry and ingenuity. They managed to get along pretty well before the war in two ways—by conquest and trade—and in fact both went together.

They had Manchuria and Southern Sakhalin and Korea and the Coast of China and Formosa and Okinawa and scattered islands here and there, and they did all right. Now they are hemmed in on their home islands; the population keeps increasing. They are an industrious people, an ingenious people, and they can get along if they have trade, but the question is, where are they going to get the trade? Their major single market in the past was China. Before the war, China provided 34 per cent of Japan's trade. Right now, because of their friendship for the United States and because of the fact that China is run by communists, that market has been cut off.

They were shut out of Formosa for awhile. They are getting back but it will be awhile. They are shut out of Korea to a large extent. They are having a good deal of trouble getting into American markets, and they have a lot of trouble with the British in Southeast Asia. I have noticed among Japanese businessmen and financiers with whom I have talked that the way out for them always seems to be China—start trading again with China. I myself think that they overestimate the benefits they can get from trade with Red China, but it seems such an easy solution to their problems because they think of the future. They

think of the day when the Korean War is over, when they stop producing for the United States Army in Korea, when they stop shipping to Korea, loading ships, or when they stop working for the United States Army.

When that day comes Japan will have to make up at least half a billion dollars in foreign trade and China seems the place. Now there is a possible alternative. First, if the United States would have a less rigid trade policy; and second if the United States would apply pressure on the British not to try to keep the Japanese out of Southeast Asia. I am not too optimistic about future relations between Japan and the United States because I don't see any inclination on the part of our Congress to have a less rigid trade policy or to apply pressure to the British. If the Japanese can't trade with us they are going to have to trade with the Reds.

They are already beginning to trade with the Reds. There is a certain amount of surreptitious trade going along right now with Red China. There are trade negotiations going on all the time with the Soviet Union. In fact, two trade agreements have just been concluded to get coal from Sakhalin. The Japanese, when you talk to them about the dangers of doing business with the Reds, just laugh at you. Their attitude is, well, they have dealt with the Chinese before and they can handle them, but if they are forced into the arms of the Red businessmen I am not too sure that they can handle them. I think that they may be swallowed up by the Reds, as others have.

Mr. Back: Thank you very much, Mr. Lavine. Back in early World War II days, Mr. Gibney responded to a Navy call for linguists to

learn Japanese in a hurry, and there were times when he wondered why he did respond, but that decision did shape his career which is still very young. Mr. Gibney did learn Japanese; he interrogated Japanese prisoners all over the Pacific, ending up with the occupation forces in Japan. He has worked for *Time* magazine in London and Paris; he was the head of the Bureau in Tokyo for a time. The author of *Five Gentlemen of Japan*, here is Mr. Gibney on tonight's subject.

Mr. Gibney:

Thank you very much, Mr. Back. Well, I think I will put on the rose colored glasses just a little bit after Mr. Lavine. I don't want to discount what he said about trade because beyond doubt this is the number one problem of Japan's future. Japan, like England, is an island country and it lives by trade. It lives by what its ships and sailors can bring back to it, and what its merchants and manufacturers can produce and sell outside of it. And I certainly think that this danger of Japan falling into the hands of the communists by default for want of a good American trade policy is very real, but I hope that we will get on to this trade question a bit later in the program.

What I would like to stress here is another difficulty which I think we can solve, but which is one of the most tricky problems that two countries can ever face in their relations with each other—that is, the readjustment of a relationship from that of an occupier and an occupied country, where the occupier gets used to giving the orders and the people who are occupied get used to taking them, whether they like it or not. Two, a relationship between two equal

partners, and this I think is a very difficult thing to do. At the moment, Japan has been, by and large, an independent country for about a year. It has not yet received some of the marks of independence as Mr. Young has pointed out that we would like it to receive.

UN membership is a classic and a very glaring example. But it is an independent country, and the Japanese are beginning to make their own decisions without fear of having us countermand them. Now herein lies the great temptation—the temptation for Americans is to forget that the Japanese can be advised now but not ordered any more, and the temptation on the part of the Japanese to forget that Americans really do want to help them, and to realize that the irritations of the occupation were far outweighed by the material good it did and to realize that in the joy of being independent again, Japanese must take care that they do not give the appearance of being anti-American.

That you have a very delicate relation here, everyone who reads the headlines can see. If the Japanese have a riot in Tokyo or some kind of left-wing demonstration, this draws terrific reverberations from the American press and public, sometimes far out of proportion to the size of the outbreak. This in turn can have a pretty bad effect through Congress on Japanese-American relations. So I think we are in the critical phase, and I hope we can say a little more about this in the later part of the program.

Mr. Back: Thank you, Mr. Gibney. Mr. Lavine has rather glumly said that the Japanese are not going to be able to live without Red China. Mr. Young, you said that you have every reason to believe

that relations will remain friendly, firm, and close between the United States and the Japanese. So what are we going to do about that problem of trading with Red China?

Mr. Young: Well, I think that trade for Japan with Red China is not a crucial part of Japan's total trade requirements provided, and this is the important point I think, provided that Japan's trade with the rest of the world is constantly increasing, both in the raw materials that Japan can buy and the products that Japan can sell. However, there is enough need for Japan to trade with the mainland to make it important for the rest of the world to make up for this, what you might call sacrifice, in a way, that Japan is now putting on very effectively in cooperating with the United Nations in the embargo against communist China while there is aggression in the Far East.

Mr. Back: Mr. Gibney, can you specifically say where the Japanese are now getting their coking coal, where are they getting the iron ore which they must have?

Mr. Gibney: Well, that's an interesting, and I think rather unsettling, fact that I think they are still getting a good bit of their coke and coal from us. If you realize the staggering freight charges that accrue when you take a ton of coal, that is a buyable ton of coal for Japanese if they got it in Pennsylvania somewhere, and send that ton of coal in a foreign bottom, because the Japanese still don't have a large merchant marine, over to Kobe or Tokyo, you really have a price that mounts up. This, of course, is why so many of them try to turn to China.

Mr. Back: Well, so far I haven't

had any answer. Mr. Lavine, you have raised the point that the two gentlemen have been optimistic. Have they yet answered my question, do you think, Mr. Lavine?

Mr. Lavine: Well, I think they have been optimistic because I think the future of Japanese-American relations depends as much upon America as Japan, if not more. Now Mr. Young is optimistic about what America will do.

Mr. Back: Back to my question. Will that coal, that coke and coal come from India, will it come from the Philippines, where will it come from? It's coming from America now, but some day that will stop, won't it, Mr. Gibney?

Mr. Gibney: Well, I think it certainly will have to. Although to a certain extent if the Japanese have their own merchant marine that coal will be a lot cheaper and this will help somewhat. But I think this coal can come from places in Asia. Of course we forget the fact that Japan has an awful lot of coal of its own and by processing, and there was, I think, a new method of treating Japanese coal developed under the occupation, Japanese coal to a certain extent can be usable in the steel mills. But I do think that there just has to be an effort to let the Japanese loose in trade to make their own bargains without much interference from us, because if this effort isn't made then we are really going to get into trouble.

Mr. Back: Mr. Young, you had your hand up.

Mr. Young: Well, I was just going to say that there are sources of supply. There is coal in Australia, there is iron ore in Malaya and in the Philippines and in other parts of the Far East which un-

doubtedly Japan will be able to procure in time. I think it is just a question of time for the political and economic relationships to develop satisfactorily and beneficially for all these countries. It can't be done overnight. If it isn't done soon enough then naturally I wouldn't be exactly optimistic but hopeful that if enough appreciation of this problem is developed not only in the United States but among the neighbors of Japan that it can be met.

Mr. Back: Mr. Lavine, do you still hold the position that the Japanese will deal with Red China eventually and the whole thing will blow up because the United States won't stand for it?

Mr. Lavine: No, I don't think that they necessarily will deal with the Red Chinese eventually. I do believe that if we are not sympathetic to their problem, and I don't think we have been sympathetic thus far, we will *drive* them into dealing with the Reds because they will have no other alternative. They have to eat and they have to produce.

Mr. Gibney: I think we have to understand, too, that there is a good deal of nostalgia in Japanese business circles for the good old palmy days with Chinese trading before the war. After all, though, Japanese will say in business circles now that China trade would transform the economy overnight. What a lot of them forget is that in the old days if you didn't get a good price in China you could always send in a cruiser or a brigade of troops to make your customers see a little reason, see it on the Japanese side. And I think now the Japanese would find that the shoe is on the other foot and that the brigade is on the other side too.

Mr. Back: Well, we have dealt with the problem of Red China, now let's turn to the one of over-population. What is your suggestion on that, Mr. Young, or do you have one?

Mr. Young: I have lots of suggestions, but I'm not sure I ought to mention them.

Mr. Back: Mr. Gibney?

Mr. Gibney: My suggestion is to head for the nearest hole.

Mr. Back: I think you suggested in your book that we might be a little more liberal in the admission of Orientals to the United States.

Mr. Gibney: I did, indeed. I didn't mean by a long shot that I thought we could solve the Japanese over-population problem by letting down the bars in California, but I did feel that this was more in the nature of a gesture which can help a little bit but can go a long way in giving the Japanese the satisfaction of knowing that they are dealt with as people from Europe are dealt with in entering this country.

Mr. Back: I want to turn to tonight's listener question which I think would lead us logically into another phase of this subject tonight. The listener question comes from Mr. Arthur Kamii of the California Institute of Technology, at 1301 East California Street in Pasadena, California. Mr. Kamii will receive the beautiful 20-volume set of the American People's Encyclopedia, an up-to-date reference on 50,000 subjects. The question is, "Can the U. S. remain indifferent to the fact that expansion of Japanese trade is resulting in serious competition with Great Britain in Asiatic markets?"

Mr. Young: No, we cannot remain indifferent to that. Either

way you put the question, whether it is British trade or Japanese trade, they both affect each other and both countries are very important to the United States, and their economic position is important to the United States, as well as to the whole free world. Just what the United States can do about it is another question. We would hope, I think, that the British and the Japanese, both governments and private businessmen, would be able to work this thing out and that each would try to understand the other's problem.

Mr. Back: But it all remains in your mind still a hope?

Mr. Young: Well, it is something that is now being worked on. The two governments are very much concerned. They are discussing it in terms of their own trade relations and what is called the sterling balance, a very complicated thing, but if it reaches the point where there is what you might call a trade war without an attempt to adjust, that would be unfortunate. But I don't think it has reached that point yet.

Mr. Back: Mr. Lavine, will you address yourself to that question?

Mr. Lavine: Well, I think certainly, at the San Francisco Peace Conference and ever since, the British have made every attempt possible to hold down Japanese merchant shipping. In British colonies even before the war, the British had all sorts of restrictive regulations concerning trade. I don't quite know what we can do about it except that I think it is to our interests and the interests of the entire western world to have a few restrictions on trade and as free competition as you can conceivably have.

Mr. Back: Now, Mr. Gibney.

Mr. Gibney: Well, I think here that we may be up against one of these situations where you have to make a choice. It seems to me that in a fair trade fight in East Asia the Japanese would probably win. They are nearer to the markets, their goods are cheaper and more suited to the Asian consumer. And it may well be a question of our saying to the British, "Look, you can't restrict these people, and we see they are crowding you out," and the British saying to us, "Well, look, if we are crowded out of the Asia trade, how are we going to support that section of our economy? Look at the difficulties that you put in our way when we even want to sell something to you." That's where, I think, the problem comes home.

Mr. Young: Could I make one comment on that? I think part of that question contains a thought, not in the mind of the questioner but in the minds of many people that hark back to the days before the war when there were Japanese trade practices that made it difficult to trade with Japan on an equal and competitive basis. I personally am very much impressed with the efforts made by the Japanese government and businessmen during the past few years to put their trade on an equal and competitive basis and to eliminate the so-called unfair trade practices of pre-war days. I think it is important for us to realize that, because that will improve the atmosphere for trading with Japan by the British as well as by ourselves.

Mr. Back: Mr. Young, in your opening statement you said that the aspirations of the Japanese and those of the United States are pretty much the same, and you listed as one of those aspirations

the desire on the part of both nations to believe in the right of the individual. That comes as a rather startling idea with respect to Japan. Have the Japanese adopted a belief in the individual after the occupation that they didn't have before?

Mr. Young: Well, without going into the very complicated aspects of traditional Japanese society, I think that there is in Japan today an awareness of what the rights of the individual mean. I think woman's suffrage, the development of a free trade unionism, the rights of the individual worker, academic freedom, representative government, all those, I believe are much more important today in Japan than they ever have been—certainly before the war. I don't know whether Mr. Gibney would agree with that, but I would be interested in what he would say.

Mr. Back: Mr. Gibney?

Mr. Gibney: I certainly do agree with that. I think that we ran hardly yet call the Japanese individualists or believers in democracy as we know it. Perhaps that day will never come, because each nation molds institutions to fit its own uses, but of course I always remember the remark of the Japanese woman when a military government officer explained democracy to her and after patiently listening to the electoral scheme she said to him, "Well, what good is this democracy if your side doesn't win?" I think we have gone a little further than this point now, and the Japanese certainly do appreciate the fact that free speech is a possibility, a thing, for example, which they never really enjoyed before.

Mr. Back: Well, how will they hold on to that, Mr. Gibney?

Mr. Gibney: Well, it's going to

be a fight, because there are a lot of people in Japan who don't like it, and the tragedy in this case is that many of the Japanese people who believe in democracy and free speech, they say, most strongly don't exactly know what these things are and have a very clouded idea of what they are defending. I think we can just cross our fingers and hope that enough Japanese took the lessons of the occupation and took the certain tradition of democracy in their own modern history to heart and are willing to fight for it.

Mr. Back: Mr. Young, before we turn to the questions from the audience, I wanted to discuss one other difficulty that you raised with respect to the future, and that is Japan and communism. I think we ought to explore that for just a quick moment if you don't mind. To what extent have the communists any real foothold in Japan?

Mr. Young: Well, taking the votes in 1949 the Communist Party received 3,000,000 votes in the election for the House of Representatives. Last April, they received less than 700,000. That is a fair index, I believe, of their decline in Japanese politics as a party.

Mr. Back: Mr. Lavine, have you any comment on communism in Japan?

Mr. Lavine: Well, I think Mr. Young is absolutely right. I can't think of any people who by nature and culture could be less communistic than the Japanese.

Mr. Back: Mr. Gibney, I noted in your book, *Five Gentlemen of Japan*, that you seemed to feel that the communists had succeeded however, in destroying, or to some degree destroying, the free trade union movement in Japan.

Mr. Gibney: Well, they danger

ously injured it at the beginning. They set it back, because the communists got into so many unions and caused such suspicion of legitimate trade unions in some Japanese quarters, and heaven knows a lot of Japanese employers are pretty reactionary in their own way, that it has taken good non-communist unionists a very long hard fight to get back to the position they had in 1946. And this fight is still going on.

Mr. Back: I was wondering about the episode involving Eleanor Roosevelt just the other day. Mr. Young, what does that signify

if anything, or how much does it signify?

Mr. Young: That's hard to say, because the reports from the press were somewhat conflicting. I don't believe there was an incident such as first described. I think it does reflect the fact that there are groups in Japan that are free to speak, even though they have opinions which we don't hold. They may be communist oriented or they may be communists themselves. That one particular incident I don't think was particularly significant, however regrettable it may have been.



QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Back: Well, we are ready for our questioners. Will you state your question please?

Questioner: Mr. Young, does not the future of Japanese-American relations depend largely on whether the Japanese people dislike communism more than they do the United States?

Mr. Young: Yes, I would put it the other way around, though. I would say it depends largely on whether the United States and the other members of the free world can help Japan and create an atmosphere in which Japan can grow and develop as a country and become part of a community of nations. If Japan is forced to choose in a most desperate situation with unemployment, falling off of markets and trade, then perhaps inevitably Japan will have to turn to the mainland, but I think the choice is largely in the hands of the free world and Japan.

Mr. Back: Mr. Lavine, I want to put a question to you in connection with that reply. I think in

your opening statement you expressed a feeling that our government probably would fail, might create the situation by which the Japanese communists could come into ascendancy. Were you implying that we probably wouldn't lower our tariff barriers as we should, which would greatly discourage the Japanese?

Mr. Lavine: Well, I certainly think that they have to trade with someone. I see no disposition on the part of the American people, the American Congress especially, to lower trade barriers in this country.

Mr. Back: How would you sell the Congress on lowering those barriers? Would you ask them to take the long view and not protect a few industries?

Mr. Lavine: Well, I don't know. President Eisenhower is now attempting to sell them on that and thus far hasn't been too successful.

Mr. Back: Mr. Gibney?

Mr. Gibney: Well, I think we can persuade Congress to take the

long view in the field of putting out military appropriations for airplanes which won't see the light of day until 1955 or 1956. We have to persuade them that this other long view is equally important, because if Japan were driven into the hands of the communists through bad trade policies it would be a far more serious loss than the lack of a few squadrons of airplanes.

Mr. Back: Thank you, Mr. Gibney. Let's go to the next question.

Questioner: Mr. Lavine, how are the Japanese reconciling this renouncing of war clause in their new constitution with the need to protect themselves against possible Soviet aggression?

Mr. Lavine: Well, that's a hard question to answer. I really don't have a Gallup poll of Japanese public opinion. The Japanese that I have ever talked to about it seem to have a difficult time themselves. They lost the war and they didn't like war and they did like this clause in the constitution. Now they realize with half their minds that they'll have to defend themselves, and on the other hand the experience of the past still lives with them. I think that as the years go by it will be a gradual process and they will come around to a wholehearted acceptance of the fact that they have to defend themselves, but I don't think they have yet.

Mr. Back: Mr. Young, I was just wondering whether the United States is supporting, unofficially at least, any idea of the Japanese sort of inching their way into building some armament, I mean building an army.

Mr. Young: We would support the Japanese if that is the decision of the Japanese people and the

Japanese government, but we can't assist them to any greater extent than they are willing to be assisted, and as Mr. Lavine pointed out there are many factors and thoughts in the Japanese minds as to what this means in the future.

Mr. Back: You left it to the Japanese to make that decision and Mr. Gibney has been there recently. Do you think that the Japanese are looking generally with any favor on the growing police reserve which may reach as many as 300,000 men shortly?

Mr. Gibney: Well, I think they are looking with great trepidation on the police reserve. If you can corner a Japanese, I think he will admit that such a thing is probably necessary, but it is a terribly hard decision to face. After all, they did take an awful whacking in the last war and also there is considerable feeling of false security that has been built up in Japan ever since these American troops have been stationed there. They may not like to have the GI's running around in town and causing what some of the Japanese newspapers attack as an epidemic of pinball games in some districts of Tokyo, but it is a comforting thing to have them around and you rather take these fellows for granted and it is a painful decision for a poor country hurt by war to make, but I think that in the long run they are realists enough to make this decision.

Mr. Back: Well, let's go back to the floor again for questions.

Questioner: I would like to ask Mr. Gibney, what is the general attitude of the Japanese toward the United States occupation troops in Japan?

Mr. Gibney: Well, I think on the whole the attitude has been very good. There is a lot of irri

tation now. You find outbreaks which are sometimes called anti-Americanism, but that's only natural. If your country has been occupied by a foreign army, however benevolent, for a period of years, you get pretty restless and you want to assert your nationalism, but certainly on the broad levels with the Japanese people, with the farmer who remembers that it was the Americans who fed him and gave him a little land of his own, with a laborer who remembers that it was the Americans who started a trade union in his town, there is a residue of considerable good feeling, however irked they might have been in recent days. And I think this will abide.

Mr. Back: Here is a gentleman with a question.

Questioner: Mr. Lavine, is there much ground for hope that the United States government in the foreseeable future would be willing to deal with Soviet Russia in admitting the Japanese into the United Nations by admitting Red China, which seems to me the only realistic hope we can have for the admission of Japan into the United Nations?

Mr. Lavine: Well, I don't think at the present time and for the foreseeable future the United States would consent to the admission of Red China under any circumstances. After all, we are at war with them right now.

Mr. Back: All right, thank you very much. Your question now.

Questioner: This is for Mr. Lavine. Will the outcome of the recent elections in Japan allow for a stable government in Japan?

Mr. Lavine: Well, the Yoshida

government has been stable up to now, and I see no reason why it shouldn't continue so.

Mr. Back: I think there is some question though whether Premier Yoshida will continue too long. What is going to happen after he retires from the political scene? Mr. Gibney, do you see any possibility of his retiring? His margin wasn't nearly so good last time.

Mr. Gibney: No, I think a lot of Japanese politicians see a strong possibility of his retiring and their succeeding. This time they didn't quite make the grade, but after all Yoshida has been a trusteeship premier, and a trustee, no matter how reputable and honest, is unpopular, especially if he is a rather crusty old fellow sometimes, however able, as Premier Yoshida is. And I am afraid now that the majority his party has now is so slim that you are going to have coalition government. I think we can call coalition government probably the parliamentary sin of our generation, and you will probably see it in Japan.

Mr. Back: Just a quick question. Mr. Young, will that mean a swing in one direction or the other from Mr. Yoshida's middle position, do you think?

Mr. Young: No, I don't think so. I think, as I said, the great majority of the Japanese people prefer this middle course, and it is just a question of which party designation or which party leader will be called upon to organize and to run the government.

Mr. Back: Well, thank you very much, gentlemen, for your most informative discussion. Thanks also to our studio audience for its questions.

FOR FURTHER STUDY OF THIS WEEK'S TOPIC

Background Questions

1. How new is the "new" Japan?
 - a. Is there such a thing as "the Japanese national character"? If so, has it been noticeably shaped or altered during the few years of American occupation?
 - b. Are the same pressures of history, geography, and economics that produced the pre-war Japan still operative?
2. Do the results of the occupation warrant optimism regarding the new Japan?
 - a. What effect has the fact of defeat had upon the Japanese?
 - b. Has the Japanese Constitution of 1946 basically altered Japanese political thinking and practice?
 - c. What effect have the advent of woman's suffrage, independent trade unions and a constitutional "bill of rights" had upon Japanese life?
 - d. Has the land reform carried out under the occupation been a success?
3. Can the U. S. look upon Japan as a sympathetic and trustworthy ally? Can Japan confidently look forward to continued U. S. aid and understanding?
4. How have the Japanese reacted to the following—
 - our quick reaction to North Korean aggression.
 - the "let Asians fight Asians" attitude expressed during our presidential campaign.
 - the order for the withdrawal of the U. S. 7th Fleet from Formosan waters.
5. What is Japan's present economic outlook?
 - a. How do the Japanese population and food and industrial production compare with the pre-war period? The period immediately after the war?
 - b. How does the Japanese Merchant Marine compare with that before and immediately after the war? Is a large Merchant Marine essential to Japan's economic welfare?
 - c. How does the volume and content of Japan's foreign trade compare with the periods immediately preceding and following the war?
6. Are the Japanese eager to resume extensive trade relations with the Chinese? Would they do so if it were not for our insistence to the contrary?
 - a. Can Japan resume trade with Communist China and remain outside the Communist orbit?
 - b. Can Japan obtain a decent and improving standard of living without any major dependence upon either markets or sources of raw materials now controlled by Communists?
 - c. If the United States does not want Japan to trade with Com-

- munist China, are we not obligated to help her develop other markets to take the place of those we find politically undesirable?
- d. Can Japan look to Southeast Asia to replace the trade she formerly had with China?
 - e. To what extent can Japan's industrial potential be used advantageously to increase the production of raw materials and also the industrial potential of Southeast Asia?
 - f. Are anti-Japanese sentiments among the people of Asia hampering the establishment of effective trade relations?
7. Can Japan continue to import primarily from the dollar area and export primarily to the sterling area and still achieve a healthy, stable economy?
 - a. Can the U. S. be counted upon to continue to make good Japan's unfavorable trade balance?
 - b. Could Japan make up its dollar deficit by becoming a supplier of capital goods for Asia under the Point Four program?
 - c. Must the U. S. be prepared to import more Japanese goods? Or, are we justified in protecting our industries against the competition of cheap Japanese imports?
 8. Have the British, with an economy similar to that of Japan, reason to regard Japan as a serious competitor for the markets of Asia?
 9. Is the idea of a Greater East Asia-Co-Prosperity Sphere being revived, this time with U. S. blessings?
 10. Has Japan's internal economic development under the occupation (higher labor costs, fragmenting of old pre-war industrial combinations, etc.) hampered her ability to compete for markets?
 11. How have reparation demands affected Japanese recovery?
 12. Is more trade the only solution to the Japanese population problem?
 - a. Or, can any reasonable plans for resettling those Japanese willing to move be devised? (Evaluate U. S. immigration laws in relation to this problem)
 - b. Is there any likelihood that increased dissemination of birth control information could put an adequate brake on population increase?
 13. What is the reaction toward the Japanese Peace Treaty in Asia?
 - a. Do the Asian people feel that we are fostering the development of their former oppressor at their expense?
 - b. Is there great resentment over the reparations issue, as in the case of the Philippines?
- What is the Japanese attitude toward the Nationalist leadership on Formosa?
- How serious is the Japanese-South Korean disagreement over fishing rights in the waters separating the two countries?
- Is Japanese rearmament a desirable and feasible objective?
- Have we convincingly explained to the Japanese why eight years

- after we disarmed them for all time (even to the point of writing it into their Constitution), we are urging them to rearm?
- Are the Japanese willing to rearm? Are pacifism and neutralism very prevalent in Japan today?
 - Do the Japanese fear a revival of militarism and totalitarianism in their country? Should we fear such consequences?
 - How is the possible remilitarization of Japan regarded by her Asian neighbors?
 - Is the U. S. prepared to bear most of the cost of Japanese rearmament?
 - If not, will the burden of rearmament force the Japanese standard of living even lower, creating discontent and giving aid and comfort to Japanese extremists?



THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

(Continued from page 2)

nesia and Malaya. The Korean War broke out just two weeks after he made a long trip through that country to report the elections.

He covered the fighting in Korea through September 1950, and a year later went back to New York to work for *Time*. Currently he is head of the magazine's religion section.

Mr. Gibney's first book, *Five Gentlemen of Japan*, was published in January '53.

HAROLD LAVINE—Associate Editor of *Newsweek*. Mr. Lavine was born in New York City thirty-eight years ago. He received his education in the city's public schools and Townsend Harris Hall (high school). At the age of 17 he worked as a reporter on the *New York American*. From there he went to two other New York papers and in 1940 became Editorial Director of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis.

He joined the Army News Services in 1944 and before his separation from the service in 1946, Sergeant Lavine was tank commander of the 3rd Armored Division in Europe. An inveterate campaigner, he also achieved a top reputation as a combat correspondent.

Mr. Lavine has since traveled extensively through Canada, Mexico, Central and South America, Europe, the Near East, Far East and Africa. Although politics is his forte, his various trips through the United States and foreign countries have rounded out his knowledge of national and international affairs. Amid all this, he managed to write two books, *Fifth Column in America* and *War Propaganda and the United States*.